

# PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

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2d.

THOUGH taken so long ago as the summer of 1936, nothing could be more appropriate to this page than this picture of

George Lansbury, who is to preside at the meeting in the Albert Hall, London, referred to below, when the Peace Pledge Union will launch its scheme for a memorial to

Dick Sheppard, who was its founder; Donald Soper, who will make the appeal at this meeting; and of

Vera Brittain, from whom, while on a lecture tour in the U.S.A., has come this tribute:—

It was only when I returned to New York 24 hours ago that I read my letters from home—and felt that the bottom had dropped out of the world. I know that everything I could say about him has already been said, and much better, by others. . . .

Our movement will go on, of course—not only as a tribute to him, but for the larger reason (which he himself would have been the first to put before anything else) that it is an expression of those spiritual forces of this world which will ultimately overcome the entrenched powers of self-interest and materialism. His spirit will be among us on our platforms, even though he, alas, can no longer be with us.

## A PERMANENT MEMORIAL TO DICK SHEPPARD

MEMBERS of the Peace Pledge Union and others interested, who will rally to the Albert Hall, London, this (Saturday) evening (7.45) will

rededicate themselves to the cause of pacifism; and set going a scheme for a permanent memorial to Dick Sheppard, pacifist and friend of the people.

The former object will be spoken to by George Lansbury, Canon Stuart Morris, Lord Ponsonby, and Max Plowman; and an appeal for funds for the latter will be made by Dr. Donald O. Soper.

This permanent memorial is something that all can help to set up, as Dick Sheppard was loved by pacifists and non-pacifists alike. Moreover, it is intended that the memorial shall be something by which all whom Dick Sheppard helped can still be helped.

A Dick Sheppard Club in London, to be the first of a series of such clubs throughout the country, is the object to be aimed at.

Such a place, where pacifists could go for study or recreation, and non-pacifists could experience something of the fellowship that is pacifism, was one of the things that Dick Sheppard himself longed for most.

This is no ordinary venture. It may well be "one of the first steps" (of six) "on that long, triumphant march that is going to take those who are willing to sacrifice for peace into a new world."

PLEASE HELP THIS SCHEME NOW!

## In the News Again!



## Build "Friendly Bridges"—And the People Will Cross

A STRONG plea for a move toward peace by meeting the needs and grievances of other nations that threaten to result in war—and an attack on the opposite policy of balancing power against power—was made by Mr. James H. Hudson (chairman of the Organization Committee of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group) at a Peace Pledge Union meeting in the Albert Hall, Manchester, on Sunday.

He showed that the method of alliances, with which is bound up the policy of bargaining and swopping advantages, leads to war, and that the demand of the peoples is for the opposite way of peace.

Mr. Hudson said: "One of the most distressing factors in the present world situation is the excitement of hatred and suspicion by people and journals usually counted among the friends of peace. I have rarely seen a worse example of this than last Wednesday's issue of the *Manchester Guardian*.

"A series of proposals were said to have been made by Germany to Lord Halifax, the greater number of which, had they been forthcoming from the pre-Hitler régime, the *Manchester Guardian* of other days would have approved as offering at least a basis of negotiation and discussion.

"In the view of many of us, the German people, however divided by the unjust boundaries fixed at Versailles, cannot and ought not to remain divided in the expression of their national life. We decline to regard the Treaty of Versailles as sacrosanct. The determination of France to keep her German neighbours divided and at enmity in her own selfish interests is wholly reprehensible.

### LEADS TO THE SHAMBLES

"The *Manchester Guardian* could scarcely have gone to greater lengths in its efforts to make bad blood when it complained that the German proposals 'might have consequences affecting the whole European balance of power' which would be 'wholly out of keeping with Britain's present and Britain's traditional policy.'

"And how long, pray, has the *Manchester Guardian* found security in the balance of power

which ever since the days of Louis XIV and Marlborough has led the lads of Britain to the shambles and its people to starvation and enslavement? And how many more British lives is it willing to sacrifice to keep Europe embroiled in the maintenance of utterly indefensible and unnatural boundaries while we stick to our ill-gotten colonies?

"Ever since Mr. George Lansbury began to teach the doctrine of international appeasement, the common people have heard him gladly, and if, out of the talks of Lord Halifax, any practical step can be taken by the Government toward the building of friendly bridges across the yawning chasms of enmity in Europe no amount of malevolent stricture of Germany will restrain the people of this country from crossing those bridges."

### ANGLO-FRENCH TALKS

Upon the choice made between these alternatives—peace by removal of the causes of war, and eventual war through the impossibility of always balancing power against power—will depend the success or failure of this week's Anglo-French talks, the most vital problem for Europe since the War. The discussion of

Germany's claim to colonies; The situation in Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia; The Far East; Spain; Relations with Italy; and Rearmament

appears to have been undertaken with

## THE MEETING THE PRESS COULDN'T MISS!

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

THAT is the title that might be applied to the Peace Pledge Union's crowded and enthusiastic meeting in the Hippodrome, Gold Green, on Sunday afternoon. Even in Monday's *Daily Express* there was mention of it!

Its real title was "Peace—and 'But'"; its message was summed up in the words of Thomas Southall, chairman:

This matter is in your hands—soon it may be too late, and of Max Plowman, who said, "Everybody here knows war is wrong."

That message was interpreted by speakers whose approach varied considerably. They included the Rev. Donald Soper, Mary Gamble, Rabbi John Harris, Professor C. E. M. Joad, and George Lansbury.

The most effective address, to judge by immediate results, was that of John Barclay, who appealed for funds. "Give what you can't afford," he urged. They did—I understand that the collection totalled £250!

a view to seeing how far "Britain's traditional policy" can be kept intact.

For though, according to Tuesday's official communiqué, "appeasement and disarmament came under review," France merely expressed agreement with us "on this important subject"—as on others—and both were ready "to protect the rights and interests" of the West in the Far East.

What is really in the way of Anglo-German understanding is that this country is "coming into considerable difficulties in various parts of the world," says the German press.

But it is not yet too late for the people to insist on a new policy of cooperation with all and the ending of the policy of alliances to protect interests.

The resistance that such a constructive policy has to overcome includes (said *The Times* on Monday) that of those

who are reluctant to recognize or deal with authoritarian institutions, and are apparently so well satisfied with the methods of international ostracism and repression which gave Nazism its birth that they have nothing to put in its place.

The alternative policy must be applied particularly to Czechoslovakia, where (to quote the same article) "by mutual consent the status of the great German minority might be made compatible with good relations with the Reich," and to Austria, which has likewise become a problem only because, by the refusal to allow a customs union between the two German-speaking countries, the campaign to "down" Germany was kept going.

But (added *The Times*) A policy of negotiation and understanding need not be and must not be a policy of surrender. If there is to be peace, there can be no exemption from contribution and concession—neither for Germans, nor for Czechs, nor for the British Empire either.



## PARLIAMENTARY NOTES

By our Lobby Correspondent

I MET a funeral cortège in Westminster on the Friday of last week. They told me it was Ramsay MacDonald's. I had forgotten.

I found an old friend in the Lobby of the House who, like me, had looked on the dead Premier as leader and friend. Both of us heard him many times—and supported him too—when he made his magnificent pacifist appeal in days when it meant obloquy and scorn to make it. Yet we had both forgotten! The tragedy of it!

I can remember well a Friends' Meeting for Worship in 1915 so large that it packed the Manchester Free Trade Hall. I can remember MacDonald standing there and declaring as though inspired by God that the use of military force could never settle anything.

I saw one who afterward became a Labour Minister in Lloyd George's War Government steal silently away from the back of that meeting looking as though he had been whipped.

He had come to spy, and had earned more of his own conscience than he wished to know. But the MacDonald of 1915 died years ago.

One or two of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group were startled by the receipt of a circular letter which appears to have been sent to most, if not all, the London M.P.s. It emanated from the London Federation of Peace Councils and called for what it termed "a strong Peace Front" and the cessation of "bargaining with aggressive Powers."

What is to take the place of the "bargaining," which is all that diplomatic negotiation ever amounted to, the circular does not state. But a preference for fighting with the aggressive Powers seems to be indicated.

The "peace" councils (the adjective is the councils', not mine) therefore demand "that adequate and sufficient shelters [against bombing] should be provided in congested areas." No attempt is made to define what would be "adequate and sufficient," or the peace councils might really at last have opened the bag of mystery which none else can open.

It thinks out the problem of defence in considerable detail and demands "gas masks of Service standard for all"—babies included. I suppose, who will certainly be suffocated by them.

Perhaps in some subsequent circular the "peace" councils in London will be good enough to instruct M.P.s concerning the arrangements in warships, fortifications, munitions, and personnel which it would feel to be necessary to support this "strong peace front" against the Powers with which we must not bargain.

I wish there were room in these notes to display at length the antics of Sir Samuel Hoare in the Committee stage of the Air Raid Precautions Bill.

Evacuation of the population from congested areas was, he said, in the opinion of the ex-

## Pacifists in West to Discuss Political Issues

From Our Own Correspondent

ARRANGEMENTS are now well advanced for the West of England Pacifist Convention to be held in the Central Hall, Bristol, on January 8.

An attempt has been made to make the convention fully representative of pacifism in the West Country—in Bristol alone 2,000 invitations have been sent out to every known society and to individuals thought likely to be interested.

Any society which has failed to receive an invitation, or any individuals who would like to attend are asked to communicate with the secretary, Harold F. Bing, The Folk House, College Green, Bristol, 1. The fee for delegates and visitors is 1s. each. Organizations are permitted to send up to six delegates.

The specific aim of the convention is to promote agreed policy upon political issues among pacifists, and to seek to influence the foreign policies of the political parties in a pacifist direction.

There will be two sessions (2.30—5 p.m. and 6—8.30 p.m.), the speakers being George Lansbury, Dr. Alfred Salter, Dr. Alex Wood, and others, with Laurence Housman in the chair.

Two mass meetings have also been arranged for January 9, by the Bristol branch of the Peace Pledge Union. An afternoon meeting in the Central Hall will be addressed by George Lansbury, the Rev. Guy Ramsay being chairman, and in the evening Dr. Alex Wood will speak, the Rev. P. M. Medcroft presiding.

perts in Germany quite impracticable.

Had he any opinion of his own? Apparently none. The House had better leave the matter, he said, to the Air Raid Precautions Department, subject to the control of Parliament. So Parliament, utterly lost, will look to the Department for the way out, and the Department will look to Parliament.

These lengthy obfuscations concluded, the Home Secretary asked the House to believe that the Government "had the question of evacuation very vividly in their minds."

Mr. George Lansbury's speech at the end of the debate was one of his most moving utterances.

"Are we all mad?" he asked. A real madman did not know what he was doing. But we were strange madmen. The Prime Minister described our expenditure on arms as madness, yet continued with the madness.

Mr. Lansbury said he himself lived amidst a conglomeration of military objectives—railways, canals, gas, and electricity works. The population of the East End could only be saved by evacuating them all.

But he knew a better way and that was to meet all countries on equal terms. The chairman said that was "out of order"—truly 'tis a mad world!

James H. Hudson

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## GO ABROAD

## TO LEARN A LANGUAGE

Reflections and Comments

WE must confess it as a fact that we are not good linguists. The number of Englishmen who can speak any foreign language perfectly is very small.

Even in the diplomatic service I knew very few and they were by no means among the more distinguished members of the profession. But it happens that this doesn't very much matter.

The only fatal thing is for a man who can speak a foreign language well to insist on airing it; because the time comes when he will say what he can say rather than what he wants to say. We once had a Foreign Secretary who did this with rather unfortunate consequences.

French was the language in question—a language which happens to have more subtleties and shades of meaning than almost any other. "Frankness which conceals" is a terrible diplomatic weapon.

I KNEW a very distinguished French diplomatist who always began by saying he could neither speak nor understand English. This was quite untrue.

But by this means he easily induced his English interlocutor to speak French; and so very soon he drew him into his net supplying him occasionally with the necessary words when the other hesitated and complimenting him, of course, on his excellent knowledge of French.

Interpreters who are now very skillful are therefore useful. Moreover they give intervals to both sides, during which they can think of their next move.

But it is as well to understand the language sufficiently to be able to check the accuracy of the interpreter. In the East they are not always entirely reliable.

I REMEMBER an occasion many years ago when I was conducting rather delicate negotiations with a Turkish Governor. It was at Nablous, near Jerusalem.

I knew him as an entirely unscrupulous and unreliable man; but I had to wait with some impatience while he declared that the sun had only begun to shine for him since he met me.

However, when we got down to business, my Turkish, bad as it was, was just sufficient to make me understand that the interpreter

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## LORD PONSONBY

says  
was misinterpreting the request I was making.

So, much to his annoyance, I drew him up and a different complexion was then put on the conversation. It took me two days to get what I wanted while spies watched my movements.

HOWEVER well I considered I knew a language, I should always insist on an interpreter in talking to a dictator.

He no doubt would prefer me to blunder into the traps which anything short of a perfect knowledge of the language would be sure to lay for me. Interpreters, in fact, far from being obstacles to intercourse, enable both sides to be understood in saying precisely what they mean.

As to learning foreign languages, a very important form of study and training, there is only one real way and that is to go to the country and live with the people.

In this way, in addition to learning the language and the literature, you can get to know the minds, the habits, the traditions and the psychology of the people—the very best cure for the insularity of which we are often quite justly accused.

I THINK therefore that boys and young men who are obliged to learn languages for their examinations or future professions should be discouraged from attempting to learn them in English schools.

Public-school French—what I may call "apporty moy le l'eau" French—is of no use whatever to anyone.

Parents should be advised wherever possible to send their sons or daughters abroad for a period, if not in their holidays.

They can live there probably more cheaply than they can at home and they can gain the knowledge of foreign countries which will prevent them from life from regarding "the foreigner" as someone of an inferior breed to their own fellow countrymen.

They will be able to learn how they excel in unsuspected ways, yet how fundamentally they are human beings so very like ourselves. If this practice were more general, it would take away much of the acrimony from international disputes.

Arthur Ponsonby

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[SOUTH AFRICA]

# "Never Were Such Times"

## PACIFISM GOES AHEAD

Special to PEACE NEWS

NEWS of heartening developments in some parts of South Africa has just been received by the War Resisters' International.

In Durban especially, great progress has been made, and it is hoped very shortly to form a section of the W.R.I. there. In this movement there is to be no "colour ban"—a very significant thing in South Africa! A strong band of pacifists has been formed, and plans are being laid for a vigorous campaign in the near future.

A successful peace week has been held, and sections of the daily press have given publicity to the pacifist point of view. On Armistice day, immediately after the wreaths were laid on the Cenotaph, permission was granted for a peace meeting to be held on the same spot. This represents a great step forward.

An enthusiastic pacifist there, a member of the W.R.I., who has done years of pioneer work for the cause, writes in regard to the above:

Never were such times, I can tell you . . . to me it all seems like a dream after years of being in the wilderness. I feel so sure that the time is opportune as never before to go ahead with the work.

[U.S.A.]

## Ministers Condemn Armistice Militarism

Objection to the militaristic manner of conducting Armistice celebrations was expressed by the Raleigh (North Carolina) Ministerial Association which unanimously carried a resolution expressing willingness to speak at schools in the interest of peace, but not to sanction services "designed solely for informing students of the glory and honour of war."

A local minister said that after nineteen years, the day was still called "Armistice day," and asked, "Will we never be able to celebrate peace day?"

## Anti-Fascism Leads to Militarism

THE last few years of fascist aggression have created sharp differences between pacifists and some anti-fascists.

These differences are generally not over fascism, for most pacifists are probably also opponents of fascism. The disagreement is over methods.

In England, for instance, the Labour Party has endorsed what the pacifists call "the frantic and extravagant expenditure on armaments and war preparations."

In Sweden, the congress of the Social-Democratic youth registered a sharp reversal of its traditional stand on military "defence."

While previously denouncing all militarism, the youth organization now considers national "defence" a necessary measure against the powerful fascist war machines. Each member is therefore to be permitted to decide his position on this question.

In France, meetings of various traditionally anti-war groups have shown

## FOREIGN NEWS PAGE



[SPAIN]

## MILITARISM IS THE PEOPLES' BIGGEST ENEMY

In Spain a battle is being fought out which is seldom or never mentioned in the papers—the battle in fascist-occupied territory by people whose minds have never submitted to the conquerors.

All the same this battle is more important than that being fought by the armies which stand opposite one another in Spain.

SO says *Persdienst* (Press Service of the International Anti-Militarist Bureau), which goes on to say that a greater danger than the fascist attempt upon the Spanish people is the attempt made on it by militarization.

Now that there is so little possibility left of denying that governmental Spain is as much under a reign of terror as fascist Spain (continues *Persdienst*) and true socialists and independent people are tolerated neither in one nor the other part, more and more voices are heard like that of Breffort in *La Patrie Humaine* (a Paris weekly) who

asks whether it would not have been better if Franco had gained command in one night and without a blow being struck.

Then five hundred thousand Spaniards, including a great number of children, as yet unaware of the difference between right and left, would not have been killed, he says, whereas Franco would have been faced by the organized or mute aversion of a whole nation, which he could not have overcome.

*Fascism does not win till the fascist mentality wins.*

A somewhat different picture of conditions in loyalist Spain was painted by Hubertus Friedrich Prinz zu Loewenstein, German Catholic anti-fascist leader and lecturer who, reports *Nofrontier News Service*, went there last summer.

He had been warned that as a Catholic and nobleman he would simply be shot, but he was received in the most friendly way and given every

opportunity to do and see whatever he pleased. In the *Neue Weltbuehne* he wrote:—

Attacks on the Spanish Government (by 48 out of 51 Catholic bishops), even if they are not intended as declarations of sympathy for the rebels, do untold damage to Catholic interests and strengthen the worst enemy of Catholicism which, as the German situation proves, is fascism.

What he found was not an anti-Christian country, but one which resents the misuse of Christianity in the interests of the upper classes, the nobility, and the bankers.

The Minister of Justice in the Valencia Government promised him that out of the civil war there would emerge "a new religious freedom and a new and really popular church with a deep social conscience."

Prince zu Loewenstein was not an uncritical admirer of Valencia. He found things that were wrong, but blamed them on the war.

## Russian's Tribute to 'Dick'

FROM Russia has come one of the latest messages to be received by the War Resisters' International expressing sorrow at the death of Dick Sheppard (several of which were given in PEACE NEWS last week).

It is from Vl. v. Tchertkoff, who writes: The peace movement not only in England but in the whole world has suffered a great loss, but although we are all overwhelmed by grief, we must "go forward with redoubled vigour in fulfilment of the conviction he so strongly held and often expressed."

Personally I always liked to read his speeches and articles on the peace movement. He has shown that true religion is against war and that you cannot be called a Christian if you approve war and violence.

His English friends must be proud to have had such a great peace fighter as was Dick Sheppard.

[SCANDINAVIA]

## Unique Peace Festival

AFTER preparing its way by extensive advertising, the Swedish committee of the World Union for Peace recently arranged two unique "Peace Days" in Stockholm.

Representatives from the Scandinavian countries and Finland attended an elaborate pageant devoted to the cause of peace. The great national park, Skansen, was specially decorated for the occasion with banners, posters, and other symbols glorifying peace. This unique festival was closed by the singing of a choir of 4,000 voices.

Meanwhile, at a meeting of Scandinavian peace organizations in Copenhagen, resolutions were passed concerning the rearmament budgets of several Scandinavian countries. Taking their stand by complete disarmament, the congress condemned the steps taken by Denmark to increase its military machine.—*Nofrontier News Service*.

## Books By The Late

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CASSELL



## Headquarters' Notes

By MAX PLOWMAN

THE faith to believe that all things work together for good is not one that is easy to maintain: indeed I rather think that any effort to maintain it is self-defeating. But from time to time the most unpromising circumstances do give rise to causes for hope, and the story of Balaam and his ass becomes momentarily credible.

When the war in Spain flamed up, to some of my friends their duty to serve in the International Column appeared much as duty appeared to me when Belgium was invaded in 1914. So I had to take courage of some sort when, parodying Keats, I wrote "Go not to Spain"; for I little knew then how the war in Spain was going to demonstrate the utter futility of war: how clearly it was going to prove to some who joined in it (with a self-sacrifice and disinterestedness I salute) that the time when war for the defence of anything was possible had passed: that the day had dawned when non-violent resistance was recognizable as the only rational policy for Communists, Anarchists or anyone else.

That it has, is mightily encouraging to pacifists. Even the ghastly horror of the war in China presents a picture which is for our learning and instruction if we can read aright; for one of the lessons of Shanghai is that "successful" modern war is the high road to universal hatred and ostracism. It will take Japan a long while to live down her "successful" invasion, just as it will take Italy a long while to live down her "successful" campaign in Abyssinia. An English general can still write in praise of the "successful" Abyssinian campaign; but he does so at his peril, for as in our little human circles, so in the seemingly inhuman world, swagger and bullying are unpleasant habits that engender a very painful ostracism in the end. In the end, there's no escape from the fact that nations, like persons, have to live in relation to one another, and social relationships can only exist upon trust, which anyone forfeits whenever he behaves like a blackguard. Tragic event after event is now revealing to all mankind that what has become intolerable is war itself, and that even for defence it is just as intolerable as it is for aggression. Now, at last, virtue of any sort fails to adhere to war, and in order that we may recognize the disease for what it is, Fate seems bent on proving—at least to the intelligence of the British people—that whatever plausible justification for war is offered, the thing itself is self-defeating and at all costs—literally all—had far, far better be abstained from.

Recently the National Government has been seriously trying to impress upon us the necessity for Air Raid Precautions. They hope that like a quack medicine we shall buy the stuff if they only keep advertising the name. Even so, given war, A.R.P. are as indispensable as they happen to be impossible. For we know now that in order to make them adequate the whole country needs covering with a solid roof of concrete 10ft. thick, and only so shall we make it safe for democracy and a land fit for ex-heroes to live in. But the House of Commons naturally admits that we cannot thus defend our heritage; in fact it admits that defence of this land is impossible: all we can do is to call upon our women and children to show their civilian morale (or non-violent resistance) while the bombs and gas are rained upon them. Then, if they can endure that in moderate quantities, we shall be free to prove to our Continental neighbours that their attempts to defend their heritages are futile: we shall be able to make life for their civilians unendurable, and so, after incalculable agony, we shall be able to get back to 1918. And some people, oddly enough, think such argument will be convincing to the British people. They keep saying to one another, for their perpetual encourage-

## GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

NOW is the time! From all sides come signs of the advancing tide of pacifism. The low barriers of prejudice put up by frightened but narrow-minded persons are breaking down before the relentless logic of our case and the tireless energy shown in presenting it. We are now up against the walls of ignorance which can only be taken by assault. This will need courage and complete self-discipline as well as courtesy and humour. Our opponents are beginning to throw away their weapons as useless but are relying on a method which is more dangerous, that of acceptance in principle without coming down to help us in actual fact. The next few months must see our activity intensified to a degree unparalleled. Every ounce of energy and every penny we possess must be thrown into the enterprise. As Shakespeare put into the mouth of Henry V before Agincourt, "The game's afoot, follow your spirits."

How well some groups are going is obvious from the reports and letters reaching me. One striking fact is worth noting. Many groups say they find women members inclined to be more courageous and reliable over a long period than the men. I think this is often so, but is not to be treated as a generalization. When it comes to persistent work, women are often more active and can do more sustained work than men. Now that figures are going up daily and the actual numerical strength of women increases, we should find group activity becoming more widespread and potent. Personal contact is the best and surest means of getting over ideas. Discussion followed up by more discussion leads to conviction.

A conference has been arranged at Concord House, 23 Pembroke Villas, by the Notting Hill group for tomorrow, December 5. There will be three sessions: 10.30 to 12.30, "The Psychological Causes of War," speaker Dr. Faithful, medical psychologist, followed by a discussion to be led by Maurice Rowntree; the second session from 2.30 to 4.30 on the "Economic Causes of War," speaker Harold Bing; and the third session, 5.15 to 7.15 on "What Pacifists Can Do," led by Miss Elizabeth Thorneycroft, Barrister. Further particulars can be obtained from Miss Gwen Crawford, 7 Cornwall Mews South, Cromwell Road, S.W.7, telephone Western 0411. Admission is free but should you want food the cost will be 1s. 6d. for lunch and 9d. for tea, tickets for which must be obtained in advance from Miss Crawford.

The activity of the South Yorkshire area is growing under the leadership of Frank Dawtry, who is doing a great deal of work in the area and is planning new groups and new activities and very much wants help, especially from those living in Barnsley, Pontefract, and Castleford, whilst those in Selby, Sheffield, Goole, and Penistone should immediately get in touch with him as new groups are shortly to be formed there. Write to Frank Dawtry, Larksfield, Crofton Hall Estate, Crofton, near Wakefield.

ment, "We must do something"; so, having done something with shovels and pails and sand to stem the tide of universal war, they take comfort in their realism.

And what is the effect? One effect is that almost every man in the street may be heard saying: "On plain grounds of common sense, it seems to be getting more and more obvious that the pacifists have it every time."

## The Notice Board

**Points for Speakers:** Will group leaders who would find a referenced and classified table of contents useful write to Walter Griffith, 3b Grosvenor Hill, Wimbledon, S.W.19? If response is adequate preparation will be started at once. Distribution will be free and table will be brought up to date periodically.

A group meets every alternate Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. in the Friends' Meeting House, Nailsworth; S. L. Robinson, of The Cross, Minchinhampton, Stroud, would be glad to hear of anyone interested.

**West Norwood** group will meet on Mondays, at 8 p.m., in Roupell Park Methodist Church, unless room is not available owing to previous arrangements.

**Stamp-collecting scheme** to aid P.P.U. funds: please—1. Address packages to P.P.U., 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, marking them "Stamps." 2. Keep out any other matter for headquarters, as packages will be forwarded unopened to member operating scheme. 3. Put foreign stamps in separate packages from English ones, as former fetch higher price. 4. Enclose no communications of any description.

**Volunteers** are required for poster parades every Saturday. Meet at the P.P.U. offices, 96 Regent Street, at 6.45 p.m.

### Members Write on

#### Refusing A.R.P. Rates

HOW about asking all P.P.U. men to say now they will refuse to pay the 1d. or 2d. rate for air raid "precautions"?

CECIL H. COX.

37 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea.  
(Other letters on "precautions," page nine.)

#### Send that Stamp!

When writing to P.P.U. headquarters, always enclose a 1½d. stamp (even if you are not expecting a reply). This will save the stationery fund numbers of pounds.

MALCOLM S. McLAREN.

Burford, Oxfordshire.

#### Unity

I have read with great regret letters in PEACE NEWS which seemed to show a danger of a division of our ranks into those who believe, as Dick Sheppard did, that pacifism must have a spiritual basis, and those others who, to him, were equally welcome, but whose pacifism is based on other than religious grounds.

Far from wishing to reopen this discussion, I wish to plead for mutual tolerance of each other's opinions. The movement has been founded on Dick Sheppard's dictum, "We seek not peace at any price, but love at all costs," and its appeal must be to the conscience of the individual.

Whilst we must inevitably, by our opposition to rearmament, be to that extent a political movement, our primary function is to appeal to the consciences of individuals to renounce war. Our effective membership consists of those who are prepared for war resistance whether successful or not, and who will resist because resistance is right, whether it appears expedient or not.

Many of us were reluctantly drawn into the last war because of the appeal made to us that participation in a war which it was too late to prevent was a lesser evil than standing aside and allowing Prussian militarism to trample on civilization. Only a deep conviction that the means are more important than the end, and do in fact determine the end, will enable individuals to hold out under similar circumstances, which may arise at any time.

How we arrive at that conviction is not the essential, and I therefore plead for unity in the essential, that war can never be justified, liberty to disagree on non-essentials, and charity in all things.

WILLIAM J. LYON.

6 Church Road,  
Gatley, Cheadle, Cheshire.

#### ANOTHER P.P.U. MAYOR

The Mayor and Mayoress of Woolwich, Percy and Kathleen Rance, are P.P.U. members, as are two other Woolwich Councillors.

(Other P.P.U. news on page 12.)

## UNDER THE OAK TREE

By BELLA HOOPER

(On behalf of the Basque Fund.)

TWO more football matches have been played on our own ground since the last column about Basque House was written for PEACE NEWS. The first one, against boys from the Basque Camp at Wherstead Park, Ipswich, resulted in a victory for our boys by four goals to two, and the second one, against boys of the Colchester Royal Grammar School also brought us victory, with twelve goals to two.

The Colchester group of the P.P.U. has adopted a child, and a party of them visited Basque House. We were very pleased indeed to welcome them, and they enjoyed their visit, and liked both the house and the children. The children taught some of them several Spanish words, and talked to them in English as much as they were able.

A party from the P.P.U. headquarters in London also came to see us, and their visit was a great success. The children gave an entertainment, and were delighted to renew the acquaintance of old friends and to make new ones. Our visitors, on their part, were very pleased to find the children looking well and happy.

On Thursday, November 18, Miss Jessie Matthews and various members of the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief came to Basque House. The children gave a performance of dances, part of which was filmed, and photographs appeared in the *Daily Herald*, *The Star* and some of the Sunday papers.

Miss Matthews was charmed with the house and the children and stayed later than she had intended, in order to see as much of their dancing as possible. A new dance, *Las Hilanderas*, performed by sixteen girls, pleased her particularly, and is one which will henceforth feature in our public performances.

At all these functions our baby, Bertita, was extremely popular, and won everybody's heart with her charming friendliness, and her willingness to be nursed and talked to by all.

We are very grateful to all kind friends who have sent us parcels, and especially to our Wigan helpers who sent jerseys with messages in Spanish attached. The children who received these were delighted with them, and we should like to say a very special "thank you" for the work which went to make them.

We have had one apparent tragedy at Basque House, which fortunately has a happy ending. One of our girls woke up one morning totally blind, having gone to bed perfectly well the night before. Her courage over this was remarkable, and her patience a fine example, because for over a week she remained sightless. After interviewing several doctors both locally and in London, it was decided that the cause of the trouble was nervousness. Now she has glasses and can see, and is probably the happiest girl in the house. The health of most of the children keeps at a very high standard, and we are most anxious to maintain this during the winter months. We should be extremely grateful for blankets and rugs for the beds, and socks and stockings for both boys and girls.

On Thursday of last week a party of 35 boys and girls from Basque House were guests of the 1st Colchester Company Boys' Brigade. This was in reciprocation of the hospitality extended to the Boys' Brigade by the Basque children on the two occasions on which football matches have been played at Langham.



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## WAR WOULD MEAN WORK

Challenge to Pacifists, and  
What Some are Doing

"WHAT is the 'complete pacifist's' reply to people whose only hope of release from conditions bordering on starvation lies in 'another bloody good war'?"

This is the question put to pacifists by Charles Stuart, chairman of Islington Central Hall Branch of the Methodist Peace Fellowship, who told PEACE NEWS:

"Almost daily in my work in slumland in the wealthiest city in the world, I am told: What we want is another bloody good war, work would soon be found for us all then."

Together with a few friends Mr. Stuart is forming a band of "Good Companions," whose aim it is by service—not charity—to try to alleviate some at least of this hopeless misery. He appeals to fellow pacifists for gifts of new or second-hand clothing, boots, and shoes for men, women, and (especially) children, and of bedding.

Mr. Stuart (whose address is 8 Highcroft Road, Crouch Hill, London, N.19) also revealed that Dick Sheppard, two days before his death, "joined our little band with an anonymous cheque for £5 and a laughing promise that if he had it we should have another when we had 'blewed' the first."

## FIRST NIGHTS of new London shows

ROBERT'S WIFE. *Globe.*

A RATHER lengthy and popular dramatic essay on religion, birth control clinics, the duty of wives whose careers clash with those of their husbands, and out-and-out pacifism. Mr. Ervine does not state or answer pacifist arguments, dismissing them as drivel. If only the solution of world troubles were as simple as that provided by Mr. Ervine for the domestic differences of the vicar and his wife in this play, when a gift of £5,000 turns up in the last act! Life, unfortunately, isn't like that. Edith Evans gives another lovely performance.

PEOPLE AT SEA. *Apollo.*

Mr. Priestley's treble. Upper classes and lower reveal their rather too dramatic true selves on a derelict vessel in the Caribbean, turning out the opposite of expectations. Thus, an old philosopher takes to action and shoots a mutineering stoker. Big magazine stuff for illustration across two pages.

THE SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL. *Queen's.*

Sheridan's wit blunted by too much attention to accessories. John Gielgud immaculate as Joseph. Frederick Lloyd the right good old stuff as Sir Oliver. A Sir Peter incapable of exploding, a Charles like last night's soda-water, a Lady Teazle more charming than creative.

MACBETH. *Old Vic.*

Judith Anderson has the histrionic shoulders for Lady Macbeth. Laurence Olivier's Macbeth impresses intermittently. Fussy decor, witches in masks, and kings and queens in very queer crowns.

URIEL ACOSTA. *Savoy.*

The Habima Players again sweep the board. Terrific acting in settings of superb beauty. The sort of show that makes you want to walk all the way home afterwards.

H.F.

## AN ARTHUR WRAGG CHRISTMAS CARD



"FOR this is the message that ye heard from the beginning, that we should love one another." —

1 John III, 11

This is one of the 4d. Christmas cards obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union — see "Ideas for Christmas," page 8.

## Peace Poppies Incident Puts Pacifism in the News

THROUGH remaining true to their ideals, even though it cost them their employment, two men have given the Peace Pledge Union a splendid advertisement.

So writes an East Barnet correspondent (R. J. Lott) regarding the two men who were given a month's notice for wearing white (peace) poppies on Armistice Day. The facts were first reported in PEACE NEWS a fortnight ago.

Our correspondent adds:—

Both the evening *Star* and the *News Chronicle* have reported the affair in their columns, including a scathing editorial in the *News Chronicle* condemning the employer's fascist-like attitude.

These papers undoubtedly go into thousands of homes where the Peace Pledge Union has never been heard of before, and because of this, the two men concerned may feel their sacrifice well worth while.

The *News Chronicle* was the only large national daily newspaper to report the facts (with an acknowledgment to PEACE NEWS), and it followed this by printing representative views from readers, and the news that the Guild of Insurance Officials had been urged to take up the case.

This publicity has come at a time when there are signs of pacifist activity becoming recognized as news. Beside the *News Chronicle*, the

*Manchester Guardian* and even the *Daily Express* have noticed P.P.U. meetings.

The white poppies incident also provided a subject for correspondence in local newspapers—a valuable means of propaganda for pacifism. One such propagandist, Donald T. Powell, in the *Birmingham Evening Despatch*, was astute enough to mention having learnt the facts in PEACE NEWS!

Besides local newspapers there are other sections of the press in which it is possible to put the pacifist case—trade union and other journals, &c. In this way the chairman of the Nelson P.P.U. group recently gave readers of *The Power Loom* facts showing the spread of pacifism which the daily newspapers had not allowed them to know.

## "Free Colonial Peoples" Plea

Christian youth movements took a leading part in the conference of the British Youth Peace Assembly, held in Bristol and attended by some 250 delegates, its main title being "Moral and Religious Aspects of Peace."

The conference unanimously accepted a resolution calling youth to support humanitarian efforts in China and to insist on collective action under the League auspices and refusal to supply all forms of war material to Japan.

The first general meeting was addressed by Miss Dingman, President of the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organizations.

The main work was done in three commissions and on the findings of these commissions a statement of policy was accepted, stating that all colonies and mandates not capable of standing by themselves should be transferred to an international administration on which are represented the colonial and mandated people and that this administration should prepare as speedily as possible for the complete emancipation of the people.

## WINTER SPORTS

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## Peace News

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:  
59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11

Tel: Enterprise 1888

### Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

December 4, 1937

### At the Albert Hall again

WHEN discussion in committee began to "tail out" and threaten a hold-up of pacifist traffic, Dr. Sheppard used to bridge the gap between the unimportant and the pressing by saying genially, "Well! Shall we get along? I think we needn't discuss that matter any further. But there's just one item I should like to bring forward. . . ." And the traffic moved on.

At the last committee meeting he attended in Regent Street the proposition was vetoed by him that his portrait be used for a poster inviting folk to join the P.P.U. on the ground that it was not mechanized, but humanized. "No faces" was his verdict. He was delighted to be caricatured for the sake of the Cause, but the one thing against which he was adamant was the smallest suggestion that the P.P.U. was a personal concern in which it was his duty to fill the bill. He, who was always ready to serve the humblest member and to travel numberless miles by day or night if he thought he could help, was thoroughly impatient of the idea that his personality was essential to the Movement. And looking back we can see the ironical contradiction he imposed upon himself by always being ready to do anything and everything and at the same time fighting to take a back seat and get out of the picture.

Tonight at the Albert Hall the man himself and hardly anything else will be remembered. And he won't be there. There is a fittingness even in that. Certainly it is as his modesty would have had it. Not that he didn't appreciate and enjoy to the fullest measure the affection he called forth so spontaneously. Only he was always passing it on. In his own happy and humorous fashion he took all his tributes as gifts to be quickly shared, because, more completely than anyone, he refused to "bind to himself a joy."

He won't be there, we said, inviting denial; for over the meeting called in order to give a few thousands of his followers the opportunity of expressing their devotion to him and to his Cause, we know his bright, immortal spirit will preside.

And while he would adore the communion with his spirit which we shall seek—would enter into our community and permeate it with his love, as he actually did at Swanwick last autumn—what would be his final word? Is it presumptuous to imagine it? If not, might we not hear him say: "And now let's get straight on with the job and make this next war completely impossible."

## CALLING THE PEACE TUNE

By Max Plowman

(General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union)

I HAVE received a letter which seems to me of so great importance to everyone concerned about civil liberty and so timely and illuminating to those who deeply desire to make their work for constructive peace effective that I want to print it verbatim. It begins:

*"These two young fellows who are under notice from their employers for wearing white poppies have set me thinking. It seems to me that the P.P.U. and especially those members over, say, fifty years of age, have a definite moral responsibility in such cases."*

*"The trouble is there must be thousands of them. I met a man today who has signed the pledge. He is young, has a wife and small family, and his relatives are all against him. He frankly says he can't stand up to it; he would lose his job if he didn't keep his mouth shut."*

*"How do I compare with him? I am sixty; have lived my life, have made my way more or less successfully; have almost finished educating my children and have a small but comfortable and assured income."*

*"Now it seems to me an impertinence for me to preach pacifism unless I am ready to do my whack—and a genuinely big one."*

*"What have I got to lose? I may be imprisoned; but it is more likely that I shall only be ignored and despised. But what of that? There must be thousands of us, at least as comfortable as I am. Our sympathy—our suffering with—must be made real. I should like to discuss this matter with all these people, for the problem is material as well as spiritual. I can subscribe £1,000 for the purpose. Such a reduction of my capital would only reduce my income by about £35 and I could get along without that. But unless I, and others like me, get going in this direction, I don't see how we can hold our heads up. The difference between us and the young men is so colossal that we must bear and share their burdens. Of course I want my £1,000 to be anonymous. It is just an adventure in faith."*

That is a fine letter and as sound an offer as I have ever seen made. Its generosity is exactly comparable with some of the shillings and sixpences we have received lately from people living under the Means Test; sums that have been sent *anonymously* to the fund which has consolidated itself with the Dick Sheppard Memorial Fund upon the sudden death of our leader. What that letter shows is an appreciation in terms of immediate action of the situation that faces our young people. It shows the concrete willingness to sacrifice which is—and increasingly will be—the hallmark of pacifism. It is the expression of that imaginative understanding which is going to be the creative means to peace. It is one of the first steps on that long triumphant march which is going to take those who are willing to sacrifice for peace into a new world: a world of dreams to the eyes of the orthodox politician, but a world that was the actual world of his everyday life to Canon Sheppard.

We pacifists must find a moral equivalent to the sacrifice demanded by war. Peace has got to be paid for, and it is the pacifist who must begin the paying. That is a hard saying, for the pacifist knows full well what to expect in the event of war. He knows that should war come, all he has and is will be required of him in a manner far more hard to endure than any that can fall to the lot of those who offer themselves for military service. Nevertheless, here and now the demand is upon us to offer on behalf of constructive pacifism *more than the equivalent* which war and the preparation of war demand of those ready to do its bidding. Willingness to sacrifice all when the time comes is not enough—that is mere fatalism and a static

acceptance of martyrdom. Pacifism is an active faith. It believes in the effort of constructive peace here and now. Its spiritual conditioning does not wait for the drums of war. Its activity is practical sympathy and actual burden-bearing here and now. Therefore, if we would implement our faith and prove to the world and the corrupt society in which we live that we do not hang on its heels till the day of war and then drop off in search of safety; we must find ways and means of showing our dissociation with the whole military machine **before** its diabolical wheels begin to revolve. We must prove by our actions that we are not just parasites but, on the contrary, the living core of the new social order whose life has begun to show itself in the real and actual activities that make for social peace and amelioration.

As in the international sphere, so in the personal. Sacrifices for peace are, we know, demanded of the British Commonwealth, and we pacifists are politically insistent that justice and equity shall be served and obeyed without regard for purely national and vested interests. We appeal now for that "wave of generosity" on the part of England which D. H. Lawrence first saw as the only alternative to a "wave of death." We are ready to show the magnanimity, called for by General Smuts, to those to whom it was denied at Versailles; and we are ready to show it **without counting the cost** and without expecting our generosity to be mistaken for mere weakness. For magnanimity that estimates the cost and pays its mere due is not magnanimity, and the generosity that clenches its left fist while it extends its right hand is of an order that defeats its object even while it may seem to serve the appearance of policy. And we are not fools in demanding such expressions of sacrifice and good will. For we are out to convince people living under harsh dictatorships that the hostility from outside their borders which gave rise to the iron discipline and ruthlessness under which they live, has no longer any reality in the hearts and minds of the freedom-loving democratic people of England. We desire to offer to those living under oppression the only means whereby they may be enabled to restore their own democratic institutions—the assurance of our belief in their right to political and economic quality. And for such an offer we do not ask for gratitude or pledges of any kind; for we regard ourselves as those in honour bound to make compensation now for the bad faith and injustice done to others, in our name, eighteen years ago.

So in the personal sphere. Looking back over the life of Canon Sheppard we pacifists begin to understand the meaning of the words "Ye are members one of another." If we are to prove to be the nucleus of a new society—a society pledged to service instead of profit—to sacrifice instead of exploitation—to faith and good will instead of suspicion and hatred—if we are to be the seed of the world's cooperative commonwealth, then there is a sense in which wealth, if we have it, must be held in common, and our awareness of social need must be made our chance of social opportunity.

Sacrifices for peace. The Territorial surrenders at least a part of his annual holiday to the service of the State. What recognizable equivalent have we pacifists to offer? Every one of us is benefiting, however unwillingly, from the "prosperity" due to the policy of Rearmament. Are we surrendering to the cause of Peace our equivalent to this profit on war-preparation? We cannot wholly dissociate ourselves from the society in which we live, however much we may abhor its war-preparing activity. Therefore it is absolutely incumbent upon us so to sacrifice for peace that the P.P.U. badge shall be the badge of those who not only dishonour war but honour peace by a positive, personal anxiety to pay for it.

How shall we do it? Our pledge is voluntary; so must be our service. Our pledge is apparent; our willingness to surrender what we have for peace must be as obvious. The true answer will not come by taking thought; but come it will, of that I am convinced. The letter I have quoted is good earnest of that. We can make a beginning with this Dick Sheppard Memorial Fund. And love will find a way. I am reminded (as ever) of Blake's words:

"Labour well the Minute Particulars: attend to the Little-ones:  
And those who are in misery cannot remain so long. If we but do our duty."

## PARS

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## PARS FOR THE PLATFORM

Pacifist Alternative

THE pacifist's constructive alternative to air raid "precautions" was well stated by the Rev. Leyton Richards in a letter to the press. After a word-caricature of the debate in the House of Commons, in which the Home Secretary said that people would be provided "at a small expense with a cheap hand pump and a shovel and a box of sand," Mr. Richards added:

This alternative is in the realm of policy. The pacifist upon whom the spade-and-bucket statesman pours such scorn in this respect, the only sane man in a mad world; for he refuses to "defend" his country by means which can only destroy it along with the rest of civilization. He would therefore take the risks of disarmament in the conviction that—without the menace of armaments—reason rather than the bomber would have a chance of "getting through." His aim would be to meet the potential aggressor, not by threatening to destroy his cities, but by seeking to destroy his pretexts for aggression.

This means a scrutiny of our own policy and a declared willingness to rectify those elements in it which perpetuate injustice. The colonial issue and trade relations would necessarily figure in such rectification; and if we were ready to put all such matters under international control (through the League of Nations or otherwise) we should then stand frankly on a basis of equal opportunity with other nations, and grievances provoked by an outraged sense of inferiority would dissolve.

### "We Shall Not Submit"

WE are so used to hearing bishops give reasons why people should fight that these words from the Bishop of Ely (Dr. B. O. F. Heywood) strike an unusual, as well as broad and sensible, note.

The average man, in the mass, is all-powerful and could stop war. It is surely right to say that the ordinary man, in any civilized country, has no instinctive desire to do harm to the ordinary man of another nation.

How different the world might be if the people in all countries said, "We do not want war, and we shall not submit to be killed, and to kill, to satisfy the ambitions, or minister to the pride, of men who have exalted themselves above their fellows; and if there is to be a war, the first to be sent to the fighting line shall be those who have brought it about."

### Future

AEROPLANE designers, whose brains conceived the 300 miles per hour Fighters now going into production for the R.A.F., have already considered the next advance in speed.

Other considerations than the aeroplane designer's will weigh. The Air Staff will decide what are the speed requirements. Defence policy must be considered as a whole. But it is highly probable that the next visible advance will, in 1944 or 1945, produce Fighters of about 400 miles an hour maximum speed.

So says Maj. C. C. Turner, *Daily Telegraph* Air Correspondent. But the American Chemical Society has been looking even farther ahead to the use of one of the most active chemicals known—acetyl choline, so powerful that a single grain, according to Dr. R. R. Renshaw, of New York University, "would be enough to lay out a million men and give the enemy time to capture them."

But "lay out" here means only "cause troops instantly to faint and remain unconscious for several hours." Peace? Thus would the enemies of peace satisfy all whose only object is to end slaughter. For it is still war. Indeed, Dr. Renshaw added:

Use of such a drug would be just as effective as artillery shells in incapacitating the enemy, at least temporarily.

### "Defence"

WE showed, in our October 30 issue, the divergence between official policy and the plea of the Military Correspondent of *The Times* that our war policy should be one of defence and not attack. Other press comments have supported our case, as these examples show.

Is it likely that any group of nations staking their all on war will give quarter or use their gigantic war weapons with "restraint"? Is there a war office in Europe which has not prepared exact plans for bombing enemy cities as an integral part of its war strategy? . . . On the whole, one is forced to the reluctant conclusion that there will not be and cannot be a little world war. Indeed, it might be a positive menace to peace to disseminate the belief that the next world war will be limited in its savagery and that it will be quickly ended.—A. J. Cummings, *News Chronicle*, November 23.

Victory surely must incline to that side which can generate, in every essential sphere, the most intense moral and physical energy. This process can admit of no abatement until the enemy's power is crushed and leads automatically to totalitarian or "all-in" warfare. The world of sport affords many parallels, and a boxer who faces his opponent with the avowed intention of using only one hand will not find many supporters.—Lt.-Col. A. G. Armstrong, letter to *The Times*, November 8.

## A Weekly Commentary

# SAVE THE CHILDREN

By J. Middleton Murry

A KIND correspondent has sent me a copy of the November magazine of the Guild of Health, which contains a strikingly simple and beautiful statement of the Christian pacifist position (signed S.H.—initials which I think I recognize); it also contains a statement on the other side, to which my correspondent asks me to reply.

The first point made by the anti-pacifist is "that refusal to cooperate in the national purpose is the negation of democracy." That, it seems to me, is based on a strangely superficial and mechanical view of democracy. To refuse to follow a majority in doing what one believes to be essentially evil is not to negate democracy at all. Democracy, which is a system by which the internal conflicts of a society are resolved by the way of peace, cannot be negated by those whose resistance to the decision of the majority is itself peaceful. To resist a majority decision by violence is a negation of democracy; to resist it by non-violent methods is not. On the contrary, I believe it is the only way of saving democracy from suicide.

The second point is that "in their laudable effort to base their conduct on the teaching of Jesus, pacifists overlook the fact that he taught the ideal, the conduct of the established Kingdom of God—conduct which he knew was beyond the attainment of an imperfect world." This is an argument which, I confess, always makes me writhe. It is so familiar, and its effects are simply devastating. By this argument the teaching and example of Jesus are made for ever irrelevant to the world of men. Still worse, to my mind, they themselves become utterly unreal, and the Incarnation merely a phrase. And whence is derived this complacent confidence that "He knew" that the conduct which He taught was beyond the attainment of an imperfect world? The whole Gospel story, in its simple and mysterious urgency, its undying reality, its perennial power to compel our hearts, is a denial of this placid and convenient assumption. That the way was hard (yet joyful), that it might make terrible demands—that certainly Jesus realized. But that it was impossible—that, I believe, never entered His head. On the contrary, the way was self-evident.

The third point is more serious. "Pacifists surely recognize that they belong to an earthly kingdom! They look to the State for protection of liberty and property; they owe their daily bread to its organization. If they are not prepared to defend the State when summoned by the voice of the nation, it is not a sufficient answer to say that they will give up all these things when it becomes necessary; they must now renounce their citizenship, their family ties, their property and henceforth live from day to day direct from God." I think it is true, as I have said more than once in this place, that there are still many pacifists (though I believe their number diminishes every day) who do not realize how intimately and inseparably the privileges of possession, which they take for granted, are bound up with war, which they repudiate. I have myself met not a few who seem to imagine that the world could very well

wag on just as it is, only with the ugliness of war eliminated. They live in a fool's paradise.

They have yet to learn how profound is the element of truth in the Socialist realization that "Capitalist peace is war." But a Christian pacifist knows this already; he may not know it with his intellect, but he knows it in his heart, and with his imagination. What he strives for is to overcome and remove the total element of war from the whole of national and international life. But although he knows that war is a far more pervasive and deep-seated thing than modern warfare, he does not regard, as the pure Socialist does, warfare as inevitable. On the contrary, modern warfare is for him the moment when the deep-seated disease of civilization becomes manifest to minds that are bewildered by the strange complexity of modern life. Nor can he be accused of attacking the effect and not the cause. Cause cannot be thus separated from effect in the world of men, because causes become effects in the decision and act of the individual. The individual who decides to resist war and *take the consequences* has at one stroke removed cause and effect as well. The tiny cell of the vast social organism that he is, has declared for life instead of death, for love instead of hate, for reality instead of illusion.

"Pacifists cannot have it both ways; either they give up everything and follow Christ now, or, like the rest of us, admit that they have not yet reached this level and accept social liabilities as a necessary evil of the transition period." Transition to what? one may ask this Christian who knows, and knows that Jesus knew, that Christian conduct is unattainable in an imperfect world. Evidently, it can only be the transition to Heaven; where, presumably, we shall all be Christians. But what if getting there depends on trying to be a Christian now? However, let us consider this business of giving up everything *now*. I have three children. How am I to give them up? What do I do? Just walk out of the house and tell them to get on with it. The State will very soon find means to bring me back again. And I am perfectly certain that Christ would thank me for nothing. He taught me to try to be a man of imagination, and imaginative, above all, in regard to children. Indeed I sometimes feel that the essence of his teaching is missed by those who do not see how central to it all is the place of the child. There is a fund called the "Save the Children" Fund. There is something magnificently Christian in that simple title. Besides, it leads everywhere. Save the children, and the rest shall be added unto you.

The time may come when, in order to save them, we shall have to leave them: that is true enough. It is true also that they may not understand the necessity that is upon us when the time does come. But they will understand one day. Meanwhile, sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. And the man who thinks he is following Christ by breaking the natural tie with his children had better find another Master.

But, of course, all these unreal dilemmas come from what William Blake called the Spectre—the intellect that is divorced from life, and unredeemed by the imagination. Unless men are prepared to be imaginative about Christ, he becomes for them a pure impossibility, and the teacher of impossibilities. Christ is not a contradiction-in-terms; but the reality of life in which all contradictions are resolved. And pacifism today is Christian (whether it owns it or not) because in it also the contradictions are resolved.



## Recent Publications

## PROPHET OF A NEW WORLD

ENDS AND MEANS. Aldous Huxley. Chatto and Windus. 8s. 6d.

MR. HUXLEY no longer plays halma. The last chapter of *Those Barren Leaves* promised us, however remotely, a book such as *Ends and Means*, and, if intervening works rather blighted our hopes, *Eyeless in Gaza* brought it nearer. Mr. Huxley, once so mordantly destructive of the world we know, is now transformative where that world is concerned and uncompromisingly constructive of the world we ought to know.

Together with Mr. Heard, than whom he is less moving while he is more reasonable, Mr. Huxley has assumed the prophet's mantle; his new book offers us, not Utopia, but a sane world which is at the same time a possible world. It does a great deal more, for it tells us the only sane (and therefore the only appropriate) methods of achieving it.

*Ends and Means* supplies to a considerable extent the chief lack of one of the books to which its author refers, Mr. de Lig's *The Conquest of Violence*, which omitted to outline, for those who understand the necessity of revolution in its profoundest sense and foresee the material methods by which it can be brought about, the essential training by which they can first revolutionize themselves.

It is our good fortune that the gods should have decreed that there shall be a new Huxley to be the prophet of the new earth. No-one could realize more clearly than Mr. Huxley that, before there can be a new earth, there must be new men, motivated by new values of non-violence, cooperation and intelligence ("Love and awareness—these are the primary, essential values"), and able to realize them in their personal lives.

There are few aspects of human activity of which this book does not treat; there are excellent chapters on politics, economics, industry, war and (especially) education, and all these aspects are related to those essential values. Best of all, perhaps, are those chapters which, with such passionate reason and such reasonable passion, set forth this ethical and mystical frame of reference; most welcome of all is that entitled "Individual Work for Reform."

*Ends and Means* is written as we should expect it to be written; it burns with a steady light. In certain respects it is repetitive (Mr. Huxley is troubled with a King Charles's head or two), and it is a pity that it has so inade-



Aldous Huxley

quate and ill-made an index (though this is perhaps not its author's fault).

But it is in the fullest sense significant for pacifists, since it is a fundamental expression of the revolutionary movement which it is the task of the Peace Pledge Union to actuate and bring to fruition. It does not deal with distant propositions and unrealistic optimisms, but with the immediate and the common-sensical:

The machinery for peaceful change is ready and waiting; but nobody uses it, because nobody wants to use it. Wherever we turn we find that the real obstacles to peace are human will and feeling, human convictions, prejudices, opinions.

If we want to get rid of war we must get rid, first of all, of its psychological causes. Only when this has been done will the rulers of the nations even desire to get rid of the economic and political causes... it is perfectly clear that most of the work of transforming the modern militaristic community into a community that desires peace and that proves the genuineness of its desire by pursuing only such policies as make for peace, will have to be done by private individuals, acting either alone or in association.

Reforms are seldom initiated by the rulers of a nation. They have their source at the periphery and work gradually inward toward the centre, till at last the strength of the reforming movement is so great that its leaders either become the government or the existing government adopts its principles and carries out its policies.

There could be no plainer indication of the course we have to take.

R.H.W.

## In Brief...

**THE CHALLENGE OF POSITIVE PACIFISM.** Douglas J. J. Owen, Friends' Meeting House, 6 Mount Street, Manchester, 2. 6d.

A full account of the National Convention held in the Central Hall, Westminster, on September 18, under the chairmanship of George Lansbury, has just been published in booklet form under the above title, and contains verbatim reports of speeches to the various resolutions. The booklet includes a photograph and signature of the chairman.

The National Peace Council has published in leaflet form the statement summarizing the Council's view of the conditions necessary for a genuine peace in the Far East, which was issued on the eve of the Brussels Conference and published in PEACE NEWS on October 30.

Copies can be obtained from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, S.W.1. 1s. 9d. per 100 copies, 14s. per 1,000, post free.

## John Athey's

## DRAMA NOTES

**THE SIGN OF JONAH**, by Rev. E. Shave. A play in three acts with a prologue and an epilogue. Fifteen males and two females. 1s. 6d.

THIS is a very well-written play and not, as the title would suggest, religious. Except for the short prologue, which takes place in the city of Ninevah in the eighth century B.C., the whole of the action is centred round Geneva and Taraxia in 1945.

Jonah, more commonly known by his experience inside a whale, is sent by God to learn the quality of forgiveness and after many centuries comes upon a European upheaval, with a typical modern Dictator out for conquests and a League of Nations Committee determined upon military sanctions.

He successfully persuades the Dictator, as years before he had persuaded the King of Assyria, to lead the world to peace not to another war.

In spite of all Jonah's pleas, the League of Nations take this move for another of the tricks of the Dictator and continue with their plans for military sanctions, bearing in mind the fact that several of the League members have interests in armaments.

Jonah, his lesson learnt is forgiven and goes to rest after his long search.

The whole play runs in a light satirical vein. Humour is provided chiefly by a very talkative reporter, romance by a secretary in the League Assembly and a typist, also by the Dictator and a woman spy. The League typist is the modern pacifist.

This play was successfully produced, in October, by members of Crosby Congregational Church, of which the author is the Minister.

**LUCILIUS AND THE CYCLE**, by G. H. Murphy. C. W. Daniel Co. Ltd. A comedy in one act for five males and two females. 1s.

Two unemployed men on the Embankment rescue an artist who had thrown himself into the river. With the aid of a policeman, they bring him round, only to be blamed for not allowing him to reach the "other world where he can meet the souls of Titian, Rembrandt and Dr. Johnson."

During their conversation, the ghost of the artist's father appears from the water, having committed suicide many years before.

For some unaccountable reason, this ghost, who had been living with Michelangelo in Heaven, speaks of methods of preventing war. He advocates total disarmament, rule by the young, retirement at forty with a pension for all, and several other improvements.

This is a curious play, not without interest and humour, but I fail to see why the author had to put all his views on world reform into the mouth of a person who had committed suicide, an act which surely is not rewarded by a place in Heaven.

This comedy would be a good light relief in a programme which otherwise consisted of heavy plays on the horrors of war.

## IDEAS

## for Christmas

A "BRING and Buy Sale"—where people may buy their Christmas cards and gifts in aid of the Peace Pledge Union—is suggested by a member in Chiswick where the idea is being put into practice.

A private house is being lent for Saturday, December 18, and cards sent to all members and friends, asking them to bring and to buy a Christmas gift or gifts. It is also proposed to get P.P.U. cards and calendars on sale or return basis.

Christmas cards, at 2d. and 4d. (one is shown on page five) and the calendar (month-at-a-glance and picture of Dick Sheppard) are not all the P.P.U. has to offer. There is a P.P.U. diary (1s. 6d.), books on pacifism, and the double-sided gramophone record made by Dick Sheppard when he was Dean of Canterbury. The latter is obtainable from Mr. Edward B. Hubert, 2 The Parade, Stroud Green Road, Finsbury Park, London, N.4, price 3s. (postage on 1, 2, or 3—6d.) while the other gifts can be had from the P.P.U., 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

Here are some ideas for Christmas presents from elsewhere:—

Details of beautifully made bowls, writing sets, candlesticks, bookmarks, &c., from the workshop of the Cotswold Bruderhof, are given in a catalogue obtainable from Cotswold Bruderhof Handicrafts, Ashton Keynes, Wiltshire.

The Parliamentary Pacifist Group is reproducing the photographs and signatures of Dick Sheppard and George Lansbury on white art board, postcard size in folder, suitable as a greeting card or for framing. Each photograph costs 4d., post paid; order from Douglas J. J. Owen, Friends' Meeting House, Manchester, 2.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is printing an attractive Christmas card this year.

A design of the Mother and Child is in the centre of the front page, on the left-hand side are the armies of Caesar, and on the right those of modern warfare.

In the centre page is a message of good will, leaving space for your own name and address.

Orders will be supplied from the F.O.R. office, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1, price 2d. each, card and envelope complete.

Individual samples will be sent, price 3d. post paid.

A copy of the Christmas number of PEACE NEWS, together with a greeting card which we will supply, would also make a suitable carrier of the message of peace. You can send this yourself, or we can do it for you. If, however, you are already sending one of the Christmas cards referred to above, you could follow it up with a present of a subscription (for a quarter or longer) to PEACE NEWS.

Here is the form; you have only to fill it in and send it to us with the money.

In either case let us have your order NOW!

## To the Publishers of PEACE NEWS

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## THE CHALLENGE OF POSITIVE PACIFISM

being verbatim reports of speeches at the

## NATIONAL CONVENTION

held in

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## CAUSES OF WAR

From Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

1. Conflict is a law of life. Despite the fact of "mutual aid," there has been and is an intense struggle for survival among all organisms. Very few of these organisms reach maturity, whether it be caterpillar, cod, or cat. Dexterity, deception, ferocity are but some of the means by which survival has been achieved.

2. Man inherits the instincts of the sub-human realm and originally he, too, lives and survives by such instinctive means. "Moral" principles and processes expand with his consciousness and he steadily explores a world of new values. Occasionally, a spiritual genius arises to teach the richer significance of these values. Jesus Christ, whether he be God, man, or both, at least was such a genius—a revelation of man's ethical and spiritual capacity.

3. Accumulative perception and assimilation of such values generates social "movements" and appropriate organization. Hence pacifism issues from a recognition of the ultimate moral and social futility of war and the determination to overcome evil and to secure a fulfilling human relationship by resolute confidence in non-violent ethical processes.

4. For those who have reached the pacifist conviction, war and preparation for war is wrong and must be renounced. Others, however, have not reached that conviction, either because the power of instinct and/or tradition is too great or because their intellect has led them to a different conclusion. Naturally, they do not endorse the pacifist technique and therefore they feel it right to employ arms and, under some circumstances, conscientiously to support war.

5. Arms are, fundamentally, an effect rather than a cause. If men believe arms are justifiable they will use arms and will only cease when convinced that pacifism is right.

6. The task of assisting to awaken or convert to the truth of pacifism involves frank appreciation of facts and relative values in human evolution, consistency in personal behaviour and scrupulous respect for the integrity of diversified human experience. Thus, an emotional exploitation of the horrors of war or a denunciation of logical rearmament may divert consciousness from the instinctive causes of war and the precise nature and painful hazards of the pacifist alternative. It is psychologically preferable to expose the essential premises on which rearmament and war rest and to demonstrate positively the moral validity of pacifism.

7. The story of Christ appears to illustrate this policy. He does not directly denounce war although pacifists now perceive that war is un-Christian. (Texts without contexts can prove anything, e.g., "Hate father and mother"; "Render to Caesar," &c.) But whether Christian or non-Christian, pacifism is an intensely personal conviction and its appeal must concentrate on that foundation.

8. God or nature has sanctioned violence and war in history and man generally still accepts this sanction. But pacifism represents the emergence of a conception that recreates the human world and pacifists have the responsibility not only of repudiating arms but of suffusing society with their dynamic faith.

REGINALD SORESENSEN.

38 Woodside Park Avenue,  
Walthamstow, E.17.

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to the EDITOR

## Air Raid "Precautions"

IT is sad to see pacifists distracted from the vital problem of preventing war to that of clearing up the mess if it starts. The so-called air raid "precautions" are the thin edge of the wedge that will ensure that all efforts, even those of war resisters, are devoted to preparing for war.

The job of all who want to prevent war is to work for the removal of its causes.

BYRON IRELAND.

Alverstoke, Gosport.

The real reason against our participation is that these "precautions" make the public (and are intended to make it) less afraid of war, and so less likely to offer uncompromising opposition to it. This on the passive side. On the active, they "encourage a war mentality," as D. N. Tod admits.

T.F.M.

## Not Floored!

I have either failed in making my position clear, or A. E. Smith is exceptional in misreading my article, if he thinks that I am a "way of life" pacifist.

I don't care in the least what trade unionism orthodoxy thinks of my scheme; and I never imagined that there would be any regular demand for floor scrubbers at two shillings per hour.

But there might be an exceptional one (not likely to take the bread out of anyone's mouth) and that would make provocative propaganda and possible contacts with the kind of people we pacifists call "Yes-buts." (Floor scrubbing appeals to me particularly, because I have had to scrub some floors while I was a soldier in the war to end war.)

There is another reason which makes me advocate this scheme. P.P.U. groups need money, and the movement needs happenings which the papers look upon as extraordinary enough to be news. I am news when I scrub floors or wash dishes (A. E. Smith should see me!) but I am only a bore associating with other bores while I sit around a lot of talkative group meetings.

"STILL STRICTLY RATIONALIST."

## Interest

Mr. Wellock writes as though interest and usury were synonymous terms. They are not. He is also mistaken in saying that a person who lends money renders no personal service to the community. Service to a neighbour is part of one's duty to the community. If, for example, the loan of £100 will be a convenience and advantage to my neighbour, and his willing payment of £4 a year will be equally convenient and advantageous to me, the lender, will Mr. Wellock tell me of any moral, social or religious reason why I should be described as a robber or an exacter of tribute? Will he also tell me how my part in this mutually beneficial transaction will enable me to determine whether other men shall work or be idle?

As a pacifist I am anxious to remove the causes of ill-will and strife. The real obstacles to world prosperity and peace are:

1. Monopolization of the land in each country; and
2. Tariff barriers which make free intercourse through the avenues of trade impossible.

Mr. Wellock is surprisingly silent on these vital issues.

ARTHUR H. WELLER.

Manchester Land Values League.  
69 Piccadilly, Manchester, 1.

EVERY enlightened pacifist who was fooled into the trenches by propaganda lies in the last futile example of collective security knows that the A.R.P. schemes are a deliberate attempt to instil fear into the minds of inexperienced masses in order to obtain their support of the armaments racket.

Fear is the very basis of war, and the first duty of P.P.U. members is to refuse to permit themselves, or others, to be fooled by war propaganda.

Our job is not to help victims of war, but save them from needing our help by preventing war and depriving it of its victims.

WILFRED RATHBONE.

29 Brooklands Drive, Greenford.

If our real efforts are successful, "precautions" will be unnecessary; if not, they will be useless.

Why waste time on them? Get on with the real job.

RUBY OSBORN.

Lullington,

Heathfield, Sussex.

## New Party?

Mr. Cecil Wilson, M.P., states (PEACE NEWS, November 13):

The call today is, I believe, not for a new party pledged on one issue, but to every pacifist to take his part in converting the public to his point of view.

This, I think, puts the whole question in a nutshell. While I still believe that the I.L.P. is the only political party that any pacifist could support, at the same time I think we can best serve our purpose as a body by not attaching ourselves to any single party.

Also, it is well to remember that there is a new force coming into politics, which identifies itself with no party. I refer to what is known as "pressure politics." Several councils have had to yield to "pressure politics" exerted by people of all parties for a given object.

If we could raise a united protest from the people against air raid "precautions" and demanding the abolition of air warfare the Government would be compelled to give way.

J. W. WARREN.

27 Alldis Great Moor,

Stockport.

## Income Tax

In reply to Ronald King (November 20), one should not mistake expedience for principle.

The imposition and allocation of the bulk of world taxation cannot be squared with Christian principles.

It is no doubt fair to say the majority of pacifist income tax payers pay the defence and aggression, &c., part of tax under duress, not because it is morally justifiable. We should be strange pacifists if we paid up were payment optional.

This analogy may help Ronald King. If he were living on the Continent he would without doubt refuse to "fall in" under conscript law, thus providing embarrassment for military escorts, courts-martial, prison officials, or firing squads but, incidentally, "disarming the enemy by love."

E. H. FLETCHER.

59 Bushmore Road, Hall Green,  
Birmingham.

## PERSECUTION

SINCE when has the policy of PEACE NEWS been modified to lend itself to slander against a particular nation?

I refer to a news item under the heading of "Socialists Silent on Soviet Persecution" (November 20, page three). What, precisely, was the justification for publishing it at all? It had no bearing upon the question of peace. In fact, as far as I could see, it had no bearing upon anything, except—if I may say so—a wholly inexplicable desire to say something against the Soviet Union; and what PEACE NEWS has in common with such a desire passes my comprehension.

Who is this Victor Serge, anyway? By what right does he criticize the resolution against fascism that "tortures women in prisons . . ." on the grounds that the resolution does not include a protest against the alleged "persecution" of socialist women by what he is pleased to call "Stalinism"?

PEACE NEWS baldly states that Victor Serge "gives proof of that persecution." Without details of that proof I must remain unconvinced.

ALEXANDER C. SPENCE.

54 Dresden Road,  
Highgate, N.19.

While our main desire is to draw attention to the things that belong to peace, we have a corresponding responsibility, to a certain extent, to draw attention to things that belong to war, and to warn pacifists against tendencies "to allow themselves to be dictated to" by apparent ideals. In the case of countries or circumstances or opinions where indisputable facts are not available we are obliged to give points of view which we consider reasonably responsible.

Space prevented our giving all the evidence advanced by Victor Serge, but he told, among others, of:

Eva Broido, a menshevik, who for eight years has been subjected to a life of imprisonment and deportation after leading an irreproachable life of action for the cause for forty years; Alexandra Bronstein, a bolshevik, who disappeared into the region of the polar circle years ago, in spite of her sixty years of age; the exemplary Maria Ioffe has been in prison for nearly nine years now; Ida Choumskaya, Dora Zak, communist opponents; Maria Spiridonova, who was first tortured by the Cossacks of the Czar, and has been in prison since 1918 because she belongs to the left wing social revolutionaries; Zenzl Mühsam, the libertarian socialist whose husband, Erich Mühsam, was murdered in a Nazi concentration camp, disappeared in Russia two years ago; the wife of the Italian anarchist Othello Gaggi, deported; Zossia Unsicht and Boudzinskaya, communist militants of long standing, of whom nobody knows in which prison they are; Anita Roussakova, a stenographer belonging to no party, arrested and deported because she had been my stenographer.

## Literature

In a past issue (October 2, page four) a P.P.U. member said he was in difficulty as regards literature when discussing pacifism with Belgian friends.

I agree with him that it would be useful to have a translation of pacifist literature (particularly *The Source of Civilization* by Gerald Heard) as I experienced much the same difficulty in talking with French friends. However, one of these came to my aid, recommending me to read *Pour Vaincre Sans Violence*, translated from the Dutch of Barthélemy de Ligt (published Miguelet and Storz, Paris—6 francs). It is an admirable and cheap book by the same author as *La Paix Créatrice*, recommended by Mr. Huxley in his *Encyclopædia*.

K.P.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.



## [FILMS]

**War Shows Its Own Futility**

THE film *Spanish Earth* is a more compelling argument for pacifism, or perhaps I should say a more powerful witness against war, than a library of books, or a platform of eloquent speakers.

The contrast between the peaceful, constructive, human work of the

**COME ON, READERS—  
AT HOME!**

NEW ZEALAND has helped us to increase to 252 the number of libraries displaying PEACE NEWS regularly. Readers there have just added **Invercargill, Napier, and Timaru** to the list.

Here's how you can help us to reach the 300—from a reader at **Nuneaton**, another addition to the list:

Back copies of PEACE NEWS were combed for the names of places already showing the paper, and these made a very impressive list to go with the letter, having, so we gather, a strong effect on the committee. We can commend this method . . . as a strong persuasive point.

**LANCASTER** has also succeeded.

Spanish peasants, and the deadly, inhuman warfare raging within a few miles of them, is one that strikes the sensitive mind most cruelly. **Men who can cooperate for the irrigation of fields can surely cooperate to bring to an end the indiscriminate slaughter of civil war.**

We can't deny that there is a great power in the catchwords of the Spanish Government's appeal to the Spanish people; and that the adventure of war, backed up by all the traditional and carefully created prestige

**Pacifism in History**

Alexander the Great had reached the Indian Punjab in 326 B.C. A powerful Indian chieftain, Chandragupta Maurya, invited him to lead the Greek army still further inland and to subdue the whole of India. However, his men refused to go further into an unknown country and Alexander withdrew. Chandragupta then amalgamated with other tribes, and himself led an army southwards, conquering the whole of what is now the British Indian Empire, with the extreme southern portion of India, and of Burma.

Chandragupta, having made himself emperor of this territory, with the help of his son, Bindusara, who later succeeded him, instilled order and comparative peace amongst the natives. When, in 272 B.C., Bindusara died, the empire was firmly established. Although Bindusara's eldest son, Asoka, acceded to the throne, he was not formally crowned until 269 B.C.

★  
**F**OR nine years Asoka had ruled in the traditions of his ancestors, when a rebellion broke out in Kalinga, a State on the east coast.

Troops were dispatched to quell the uprising, but so fierce was the resistance that it took several months and

of the soldier in uniform, is an inspiration to the men who are fighting.

The sense of futility, horror, and pity at the weakness of men who are led away by sentimental catchwords to commit unspeakable crimes is overwhelming. None of the heroism or idealism with which the producers of the film attempt to gloss over the brutal facts of the situation can drive these feelings away.

Could not the Peace Pledge Union arrange for a distribution of pamphlets outside cinemas to those whose common sense and compassion have been outraged by this film?

**NANCY BURTON**

**The Story of  
ASOKA**

the loss of 100,000 lives before the State was subdued.

Asoka was present at this siege and, in direct contrast with other victorious emperors, he was so shamed by the horrors and futility of war that he renounced the use of violence for ever.

Asoka had already come under the influence of Buddhism and it is probable that, after Kalinga, his thoughts were directed more and more to this religion. For, following his renunciation of armed force, he issued his first "manifesto."

This was a message inscribed on rock surfaces throughout the land—"that the slightest hurt of one member of the empire would cause his majesty personal sorrow."

This was the first of such inscriptions, known as Rock Edicts, which were published at eight different periods during his reign. They contained quotations from Buddhist literature, principles of government, and an interesting ethical code.

In these writings he exhorted the people to believe in the sacredness of life—both human and animal. He abolished hunting and the slaughter of animals; asked slave-owners to treat their subjects with respect and courtesy; and taught children to be obedient and, above all, truthful to their parents.

Although a Buddhist, Asoka tolerated and gave financial assistance to other sects and religions. He was adamant, however, in not permitting any living sacrifice to be made.

That his wishes might be respected, he appointed censors and commis-

**By Dennis Raymond**

sioners to each district, whose duties were to see that the laws were kept, and to help the uneducated to an understanding of the better life which Asoka wished to bring about.

For throughout the Rock Edicts he insisted that, although he promulgated laws and appointed censors, it was only by an effort of individual will and self-control that mankind could change and become happier.

As the population was, in the main, illiterate, and the appeal of the ethical code limited, Asoka decided that something practical had to be done in the way of social services for the natives. He inaugurated a scheme of public works which must have seemed far more improbable of completion than the present programme of the London County Council.

Nevertheless, with what amazing cooperation will never be known, within a few years a vast scheme of social services had been completed.

About this time, Asoka first sent Buddhist missionaries to foreign lands, and records of these are found as far afield as Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia, and Epirus.

★  
Such were the achievements of Asoka. In 232 B.C. he died, and in less than a hundred years his empire had been over-run. Apart from some of his rock inscriptions, all that now remains of Asoka Maurya's work is Buddhism, which, now a world-wide religion, would probably have remained, but for him, a small local sect.

(BIBLIOGRAPHY: — *A History of Ancient India*, V. A. Smith; *Cambridge History of India*; *Encyclopedia Britannica*; *A Short History of the World*, H. G. Wells.)

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**DANCE RECITAL**

**WINIFRED SWAN'S** Dance Recital, Fortune Theatre, W.C., with John Payne, Negro baritone, David Branson, piano. Thursday, December 9, 8.30. 1s. 6d.—5s., 2 All Souls' Place, W. Tel. Latham 4105 and B.O.

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**MEETINGS**

**FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION** (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, led by Rev. Alan Balding, is being held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 165 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

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"ACTA NON VERBA"**

Addresses given on above subjects Sundays, 11 a.m., Lindsey Hall, Nottingham Hill Gate. All welcome.

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**PERSONAL**

**WOULD SPIRITUALISTS** who are pacifists, members of the P.P.U., or similar organizations, please communicate (217 Richmond Road, London, E.8), giving name of pacifist and spiritualist society (if any), &c. I am compiling data, and wish to coordinate our efforts within the spiritualist movement.—Ralph Woolfstein.

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Ready December 13

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# Peace News

December 4, 1937

Classified Advertisements on page 10

## SUCCESSFUL PEACE PLAYS

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MARY PENDERED

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## GLASGOW GETS DOWN TO WORK!

By ANDREW STEWART  
PEACE NEWS Correspondent

THE recently - formed Glasgow branch of the Peace Pledge Union is getting down to business.

There are over 1,000 signatories in the area, and the process of sorting them out into districts and "cells" is almost completed. Then the intensive work will begin.

Nigel Spottiswoode and the Rev. George F. Macleod, of Govan, addressed a meeting of the branch recently.

Dr. Macleod emphasized the importance of getting as many people as possible to sign the peace pledge responsibly, and urged the branch to demonstrate publicly as often as possible.

Members of the branch recently demonstrated at an anti-Japanese meeting held in St. Andrew's Hall. Three thousand leaflets were distributed exposing the hypocrisy of condemning Japan. The branch is awaiting the beginning of air raid "precautions" in Glasgow to demonstrate against their futility.

The Glasgow University group is

## Psychologist's View of War's Cause

"We as a nation are in the habit of taking for granted a great many things which others cannot—a habit they find very provoking," said Dr. Leonard F. Browne during a lecture on the "Psychological Causes of War" in London last week.

In 1914 the situation yielded the two necessary factors (he continued):

1. The instinctive element in the individual to which the situation could appeal—his suppressed aggressive tendencies; and
2. A precipitating cause.

Dealing with the first factor, Dr. Browne said that in infancy the child was repressed continually, from without and from within. This repressed hatred in the unconscious was rationalized in the conscious mind of the adult.

Secondly, we needed a precipitating cause. In 1914 our reaction to the shock was uncertain until the invasion of Belgium crystalized the situation. Here was a clear, reasonable, and honourable reason for war. It became a crusade to protect the weak against the strong, to save Europe from militarism, &c.

The individual was easily influenced by the national myth. A slight or a threat roused aggression, which then sought a rationalization. Those who advocated arms as a means of security should remember that this security meant lack of security for others.

To know of the working of these aggressive tendencies was a safeguard. Then we needed cooperative action by wiser leaders, and above all the development of more and more free personalities among us.

Miss Winifred Swan, who is giving a dance recital in the Fortune Theatre on December 9, is the daughter of F. R. Swan, minister of Brotherhood Church, late of Southgate Road, Hackney. During the war this was a centre for various peace and stop-the-war movements.

The church premises had to be given up some time ago and Sunday evening meetings are now held in the Library Hall, Essex Road, Islington. All peace-makers are welcomed.

arranging a series of study circles, inter-club debates, and open meetings.

The recent rectorial election has stimulated a widespread interest in pacifism; and with the late Dr. Sheppard's 538 votes as a nucleus the group is planning to create as large a membership as that of any other group in the country.

An Armistice Week organized in Govan by the Rev. George Macleod was a tremendous success. Nearly 100 men and women applied for pledge cards.

## P.P.U. AND LABOUR PARTY

WE have got to take political action if we are to make effective progress.

We are nothing if we are not politicians.

So say members of the Islington Peace Pledge Union group in a statement they have sent to PEACE NEWS after discussing the desirability of taking political action. Rather than form a new party they consider it wiser for P.P.U. members to become active members of the Labour Party, and they add:

We should not lose time if we are unsuccessful in the end, because much valuable experience will be gained in the process. If permeation is decided upon we should at once be backing up all the valuable work of George Lansbury and others.

The case against forming a new party is put as follows:—

Elections generally are fought on problems of the moment and not on long-sighted policies. The domestic, as opposed to the international, dominates the platform of any political campaign, and if we form a new party, while we are getting to grips with immediate problems our pacifism will suffer.

Before we can start a party we must study all aspects of government and in the end, we are confident (in all except the question of arms), arrive at much the same policy as the Labour Party. Further it seems to us that more likely converts are to be found among the politically minded than the vast masses who are not.

## Paul Robeson will be there

Spanish children from the Peace Pledge Union's Basque House at Langham will be among those taking part in the Spanish concert to be held in the Scala Theatre, Charlotte Street, W.1, on Tuesday, commencing at 8 p.m. Paul Robeson will be there, and professional Spanish artists will also contribute to the programme.

Tickets (all reserved), 2s. to £1 1s., are obtainable from the usual agencies.

## A.R.P. means Conscription

An affirmation that measures suggested by the Air Raid Precautions Department

will lead to a mobilization of the civilian population in the war machine, that they will produce greater fear and the consequences of fear (in the minds of all men) and that they display a degree of mistrust and lack of faith equalled only by that displayed by the rearmament programme

was made by members of the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in a resolution passed on Saturday.

"This conference," they added, "considers that air raid precautions are contrary to the spirit of Jesus Christ, and are calculated merely to postpone the prospect of international peace."

## DIARY OF THE WEEK

December

4 (Sat.) BOW; 2.30 p.m. Kingsley Hall Settlement, Powis Street; conference on "Community Life and Activity." Conveners, 21 Eversley Road, Charlton, S.E.7. WALTHAMSTOW; 3 p.m. Friends' Hall, Greenleaf Road; meet for poster parade; P.P.U. KENSINGTON; 7.45 p.m. Royal Albert Hall; George Lansbury, Canon S. D. Morris, Max Plowman, Lord Ponsonby, Dr. Donald O. Soper; P.P.U. (see page 1).

5 (Sun.) BAYSWATER; 11 a.m. Ethical Church, Queen's Road; Dr. Har Dayal on "Gandhi's Philosophy of Life."

BOGNOR REGIS; 3 p.m. Odeon Cinema; open debate; Lord Ponsonby and L.N.U. speaker; chair, Dean of Chichester; L.N.U. and F.O.R.

BAYSWATER; 6.30 p.m. Ethical Church, Queen's Road; Mrs. Winifred Cummings on "Are our actions consistent with our beliefs?"

DALTON-IN-FURNESS; 7.45 p.m. Market Street Hall; P.P.U. speakers on "Constructive Peace"; P.P.U.

WALTHAMSTOW; 8.15 p.m. Friends' Hall, Greenleaf Road; Thomas Southall; also play, *The Pen is Mightier*; P.P.U.

CHEADLE HULME; 8.15 p.m. Elysian Cinema; film show, *Forbidden Frontier* and peace films; Dr. E. Vipont Brown on "Biology and War"; P.P.U.

KENSINGTON; Concord House, 23 Pembridge Villas; Dr. Faithful, Harold Bing, and Miss E. Thorneycroft at one-day conference; P.P.U.

6 (Mon.) LINCOLN; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; discussion; Miss Mary Gamble and others; P.P.U.

TEDDINGTON; 8 p.m. Ellery Hall; meeting on China; mixed platform; P.P.U.

CATERHAM VALLEY; 8 p.m. Harestone Hall Congregational Church; Capt. Philip Mumford, Rev. Henry Carter, and Harold J. Morland (chairman); P.P.U.

7 (Tues.) LONDON, N.W.1; 1.20—2 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Dr. Ida Sindelkova on "Czechoslovakia's Place in European Affairs"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

HOLBORN; 7 p.m. Conway

Hall; H. Wickham Steed on "The Risks of Peace."

LONDON, W.1; 7.45 p.m. King's Weigh House, club entrance, Thomas Street (opposite Selfridge's); London group leaders' meeting; P.P.U.

LONDON, W.1; 8 p.m. Scala Theatre, Charlotte Street; Spanish Concert. See column 2.

8 (Wed.) CROYDON; 8 p.m. Adult School Hall, Park Lane; Canon Stuart Morris, Miss E. Thorneycroft, and Charles Headland (on Cotswold Bruderhof); P.P.U.

WATFORD; 8 p.m. Kingham Hall, St. John's Road; Rev. A. Herbert Gray on "Christian Pacifism"; F.O.R.

9 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10—2 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. J. Frazer on "Neutrality"; City P.P.U. group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. C. Leslie Atkins on "My Attitude to Pacifism"; City P.P.U. group.

NEW BARNET; 8 p.m. St. Augustine's Hall, Plantaganet Road; Fred Messer, Rev. R. Sorensen, and William Cooper (chairman); P.P.U.

SUTTON; 8 p.m. 51 Sherwood Park Road; John Barclay on "Active Pacifism"; P.P.U.

10 (Fri.) LEICESTER; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Rev. H. O. Evans on "A Christian Policy for the Empire"; Christian Pacifist Fellowship.

12 (Sun.) PECKHAM; 7 p.m. Oliver Goldsmith School, Peckham Road; Nigel Spottiswoode on "The Necessity of Pacifism"; P.P.U.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE; 8.15 p.m. Y.M.C.A.; Canon Stuart Morris.

## Coming Shortly

December 16, SHEFFIELD; Canon Stuart Morris; look out for further details.

WILLESDEN; 7.30 p.m. Furness Road School; James Hudson, Ruth Fry, John Barclay, and Miss E. Thorneycroft; P.P.U.

Fourteen hundred people were present at the Lincoln P.P.U. meeting reported in last week's PEACE NEWS—not 400, as our correspondent inadvertently stated.

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